

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 MANILA 14590

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS FOR HOLBROOKE FROM MURPHY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR
SUBJECT: MILITARY BASES DISCUSSION

REFS: STATES 208577, 209867, 211454

1. MET WITH MARCOS FOR ONE HOUR MONDAY AFTERNOON. HE HAD BEEN RECEIVING BRIEFING FROM ROMULO ON ASEAN TALKS. HE ASKED ROMULO TO REMAIN ALONG WITH ENRILE AND SOLICITOR GENERAL MENDOZA.

2. PRESIDENT ASKED IF PURPOSE OF MEETING WAS TO DISCUSS PROGRESS OF TALKS ON BASES. REPLIED I WISHED TO MAKE TWO POINTS: FIRST OF ALL I WISHED TO TRANSMIT TO HIM WASHINGTON'S COMPLIMENTS ON LEADERSHIP ROLE PLAYED BY FILIPINOS AT ASEAN MEETING, THE MOST SUCCESSFUL WE HAD HAD WITH ASEAN TO DATE. SECONDLY, I WISHED TO TRANSMIT SENSE OF CONCERN THAT WE APPEARED TO BE ON VERGE OF A CAMPAIGN OF EMOTIONAL OUTPOURING AGAINST THE U.S. AND THE BASES. CONTINUED, DRAWING HEAVILY ON TALKING POINTS FROM STATE REFTELS AND OUR TELCON DESCRIBING CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES, INCLUDING EXPLANATION WHY MRS. MARCOS RECEIVED SO DIFFICULT A HEARING, AND EFFORTS YOU AND OTHERS HAD MADE TO SECURE REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT IN LAST WEEK'S HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE DECISION TO RESTORE 4 OUT OF 5 MILLION DOLLARS

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3. NOTED THAT PRESENT AREA SITUATION OFFERED BOTH GREAT OPPORTUNITIES AND EQUALLY GREAT UNCERTAINTIES. IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT ADMINISTRATION'S CRITICS NOT BE GIVEN EXCUSE TO UPSET RECENT FAVORABLE MOMENTUM. THIS MUST NOT ONLY BE PRESERVED BUT ENHANCED IN ORDER TO DEVELOP OVERALL PACKAGE

AMENDING MBA IN WAY SATISFACTORY TO BOTH SIDES.

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4. ALSO UNDERLINED NEED TO AVOID GIVING UNINTENTIONAL SIGNALS WHICH COULD UPSET ASSUMPTIONS IN JAPAN, CHINA, KOREA AND ASEAN RE STRENGTH OF US-GOP STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP. IN THIS CONNECTION HANDED PRESIDENT TEXT OF MOSCOW TEL 19835 WITH COMMENT THAT THIS SHOWED SOVIETS ALREADY BUSILY AT WORK TO UNDERMINE US-PHILIPPINE RELATIONSHIP. PRESIDENT READ THIS MESSAGE WITH MARKED INTEREST, QUOTING PASSAGES ALOUD TO MINISTERS PRESENT.

5. THRUST OF MARCOS COMMENTS IN REPLY WAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE CONCERNED OVER HIS DECISION TO CALL RECESS IN MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS. HE HAD INTENDED TO REVIEW, AT APPROXIMATELY MONTHLY INTERVALS, PROGRESS OF THESE TALKS TO INSURE THAT HIS NEGOTIATORS WERE NOT OVERSTEPPING THEIR AUTHORITY AND IN GENERAL TO TAKE PULSE OF PROCEEDINGS. HE HAD ANTICIPATED THERE WOULD BE DIFFICULT ISSUES SUCH AS SUBIC WATERS AND WATERSHED. NOW HE SIMPLY WISHED TO HAVE CLOSER LOOK AT WHAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED TO DATE. I SAID THAT GENERAL ESPINO AND ADMIRAL MCCLENDON HAD ALREADY INITIALED OFF ON TWO OR THREE ISSUES AD REFERENDUM TO HIM AND WASHINGTON. DISCUSSIONS RE SUBIC WATERS AND WATERSHED HAD BEEN INTENSIVELY ENGAGED JUST WHEN HE CALLED FOR RECES NOTED THE TWO SIDES HAD ALSO EXCHANGED PAPERS ON ROLES OF
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THE BASE COMMANDERS BUT HAD NOT BEGUN SERIOUS DISCUSSION ON THAT ISSUE.

6. MARCOS THEN SAID THAT HE CONSIDERED "GOP HAD RATION-ALIZED ITS POSITIONS AND CRITICAL COMMENTS BY INDIVIDUALS IN CONGRESS WOULD NOT AFFECT THOSE POSITIONS." LOOKING AHEAD, AND AT NO POINT DID HE IMPLY THAT CURRENT RECESS IN MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS WOULD BE PROLONGED, PRESIDENT FORESAW NEED TO DEAL WITH COMPENSATION AND THEN WITH JURISDICTION. RE COMPENSATION, HE MUST FIND WAY TO GO BACK TO HIS PEOPLE AND EXPLAIN WHY USG WAS NO LONGER WILL-ING TO STAND BY KISSINGER'S \$1 BILLION L976 OFFER TO ROMULO. "NOW YOU ARE WILLING OFFER ONLY \$400 MILLION AND EVEN FOR THAT YOU COMMIT YOURSELF ONLY TO MAKE 'BEST EFFORT' EACH YEAR WITH US CONGRESS." HE INDICATED HE HAD NOT THOUGHT OF HOW HE COULD HANDLE THIS IN TERMS OF PUBLIC PRESENTATION.

7. REFERRING TO OUR EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT PUBLIC CAM-PAIGN CRITICAL OF STATES, MARCOS URGED WE NOT TAKE WHAT WAS BEING SAID TOO SERIOUSLY. HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL TO GIVE YOUNGER GENERATION ITS HEAD AND LET IT

BLOW OFF STEAM. NOTED WITH EMPHASIS THAT "THE YOUNG WILL NOT DETERMINE OUR FINAL POSITIONS." (IN AN ASIDE, PRESIDENT COMMENTED HE HAD ATTENDED DAUGHTER IMEE'S PERFORMANCE PREVIOUS NIGHT AS HEROINE OF BERTOLD BRECHT'S "ST. JOAN OF THE STOCKYARDS." SAID HE HAD BEEN AMAZED AT THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE YOUTHFUL AUDIENCE FOR THE RADICAL

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EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS FOR HOLBROOKE FROM MURPHY

POSITIONS ENUNCIATED IN THAT PLAY. HIS AIDES HAD CHECKED AUDIENCE OUT AND REPORTED HIGH PROPORTION OF WELL EDUCATED BUT UNEMPLOYED YOUTH.) FILIPINO YOUTH, MARCOS SAID, IS "REFORM CONSCIOUS". NOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS MOVING AHEAD TOWARDS NORMALIZATION, INEVITABLY VOICES WOULD BE RAISED THAT THE EARLIER PRESSURES OF MARTIAL LAW HAD SILENCED. THE GOVERNMENT, AND HE ABOVE ALL, MUST APPEAR TO LISTEN SERIOUSLY TO THEM.

8. PERSONALLY, MARCOS CONTINUED, HE WAS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECT FILIPINO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WERE TRYING TO EXERT ON NATIONAL POLICY THAN HE WAS BY THE CRITICISM BEING HEARD FROM THE KB YOUTH ORGANIZATION ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY AND AMERICAN BASES. HE REMINISCED ABOUT HIS OWN YOUTHFUL SPEECHES IN THE 1930S DECRYING PRESIDENT QUEZON'S POSITIONS. QUEZON HAD LASHED BACK CRITICIZING THE YOUNG WHO HAD NEVER FOUGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY. MINDEF ENRILE, MARCOS NOTED, WAS AMONG THOSE WHO OPPOSED THE PRESENT DISCUSSIONS BUT HE HAD ACCEPTED MARCOS' DIRECTIVE THAT NOW WAS THE TIME TO BE PATIENT AND SEE HOW WELL THE FILIPINO AND AMERICAN POSITIONS COULD BE RECONCILED. AS PRESIDENT, HE HAD, HE POINTEDLY REMINDED ME, OVERRULED MOST OF HIS OWN CABINET IN DIRECTING THAT MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS SHOULD PROCEED.

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9. MARCOS MUSED THAT ONE DIFFICULTY OF AMERICAN PLEDGE TO MAKE "BEST EFFORT" WAS THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT LIKE TO APPEAR TO BE BEGGING. THE QUESTION AROSE WHY SHOULD GOP HAVE TO BEG IF IT GETTING ANY BENEFIT FROM THE BASES. PERHAPS IT SHOULD ASK FOR NO MONEY. AS IF TO CORRECT ANY FALSE IMPRESSION ON THIS SCORE, HE ADDED, DEPARTMENT MUST GIVE US CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS ADEQUATE REASONS WHY THE BASES SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND "WE FOR OUR PART MUST DO TH SAME HERE WITH OUR CRITICS." NOTED HE HAD DIRECTED ENRILE TO BRIEF THE INTERIM ASSEMBLY (IBP) MEMBERS ABOUT THE BASIC POLICY REASONS UNDERGIRDING THE NEED FOR THE BASES. THEN KB AND IBP ARGUMENTS WOULD BE CONSIGNED TO "STUDY COMMITTEES" AT IBP UNDER ROMULO AND ENRILE.

10. SUMMING UP, MARCOS SAID THAT HE INTENDED TO HAVE THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED STAGE BY STAGE, FIRST SECURING AN AGREED DELIMITATION OF THE AREAS FOR AMERICAN FACILITIES AND THEN CHECKING OUT THOSE REMAINING POINTS ON AGENDA ON WHICH OUR MILITARY REPS COULD NOT AGREE. NEGOTIATIONS MUS CONTINUE, MARCOS NOTED, LEADING TO AN AMENDMENT TO THE AGREEMENT. HE ADMITTED THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY "RATHER TIRED OF THE YEARLY EXERCISE BETWEEN THE US ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS" BUT GAVE NO HINT THAT HE WAS INCLINED TO BREAK OFF OUR TALKS. AFTER THE MILITARY TALKS, THE NEXT STAGE WOULD BE TO DISCUSS COMPENSATION AND DECIDE WHETHER GOP COULD ACCEPT USG COMMITMENT TO MAKE "BEST EFFORT". AFTER THAT WOULD COME THE "THORNIEST PROBLEM" FOR HIM: HOW TO HANDLE JURISDICTION. FOR PRESENT HE URGED CALMNESS AS THE BEST POSTURE FOR BOTH PARTIES AS HE REVIEWED THE RESULTS OF THE TALKS TO DATE.

11. COMMENT: THEN PROCEEDED TO 3-HOUR LUNCH WITH MRS. MARCOS AT WHICH MY WIFE AND I WERE ONLY GUESTS (SEPTTEL).

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WE ALSO SERVE.

12. GENERAL MANOR'S REPORT OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH ESPINO REINFORCES MY IMPRESSION THAT MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS MAY SOON RESUME (MANILA 14584).

13. THRUST OF MARCOS COMMENTS WAS THAT HE NOT PRESENTLY AT LEAST THINKING OF SIGNING MBA AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD

CONSIST ONLY OF RESULTS OF MILITARY TALKS. MURPHY

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